

tablishing justice and freedom. It is not too much to say that, while freedom from invasion could be established by repelling invaders, freedom and justice for the individual could not possibly be secured without the enactment of law defining individual rights and obligations. Since the time of Hammurabi and since the bringing of the Ten Commandments down from Mount Sinai, civilization has realized that there must be law in order to protect the rights of individuals, the family, and the community. Certain basic principles have developed. One of them is that we shall secure justice more completely under a rule of law than under a rule of men. Another is that individuals shall be equal before the law. Most important of all, the law in its gradual development has always expressed an ethical purpose.

All of this has been a slow growth through the centuries but, as historians counted the gain, they rightly felt that tremendous advances had been made. And then, all at once, freedom and justice were destroyed before our eyes, first by Hitler and the Nazis and then by communism. We saw the horrors not only of war, but also of the gas chambers, of slaughter of groups like the Polish officers at Katyn. Not only has life been ruthlessly destroyed but human rights have been utterly disregarded through the concentration camp and the hideous system of forced labor. Countless millions throughout the world live in terror because of "thought control" imposed by despotic governments. The little Chinese tailor who casually remarked that "the cloth was not so good as formerly" is subject to a charge of wrong thinking, of being deviationist and antirevolutionary. And this is a charge carrying a sentence of forced labor or even death. We know now the cruelties of the denunciation process in which men and women supplied with printed forms for the purpose are urged, under heavy penalty of refusal, to accuse their friends, their neighbors, their fathers, their mothers, their wives, their husbands, their children. Through vast areas of the world freedom and justice have been destroyed, and why? Because Stalin spoke, the Politburo spoke, and Mao Tse-tung speaks, and that is the law. Today in vast and powerful countries we have the rule of men, not of law, and so in these countries freedom and justice are abolished.

In Soviet Russia, Vyshinsky and Undrevich, in their book on Soviet law attack the idea of penologists who "hold the view that the purpose of a court is to apply the law and to apply it uniformly to all classes of society." They thus ring the death knell for equality before the law. To hold such a view, according to Vyshinsky, is to "ignore the task of stamping out our class enemies" and "to emasculate the class content of judicial practice." As Vyshinsky states: "The law of the Soviet regime is a political directive and a judge's work is not to apply the law according to the requirements of bourgeois legal logic, but to execute the law unwaveringly as an expression of the policy of the party and the government." In a later passage it is explained that "the Soviet State openly repudiates the political independence of judges * * *. We openly require our judges to carry out the policy of the proletarian dictatorship * * *." Thus openly is abandoned the principle of justice applicable to all persons, even against the state itself. Written constitutions purport to establish freedom of speech, of public meeting, of the press, of association, etc.: but the laws as interpreted set aside these constitutional declarations. This is in accord with Soviet law, for, as declared by the Law Institute of the Academy of Science in Moscow, a party directive has the force of law. This explains why in Russia, the government is so willing to ratify treaties. It is

bound only by the directive of the party. If the directive conflicts with the constitution, or with the treaty, or with any express law, the directive of the party controls.

I am aware that in certain directions Russia has relaxed the rule of terror and the abuses of the secret police. But eminent political scientists recognize that this rule as to judges still is in force.

In these days then, when we see the ethical basis of law attacked, when we see government of men, not of laws, government which openly repudiates the equality of men before the law, their right to personal freedom, their right to work at whatever calling they choose, when, in a word, the principles of justice are discarded in powerful countries, we as lawyers, face a specific challenge. It is not enough for us to enjoy employment in a lucrative, learned, and honorable profession. It is not enough to practice law ethically. We have to help teach the coming race the ethical basis of law. We have to fight as lawyers against the movement to abolish the conception of right and justice which lie at the basis of civilization.

The Constitution of the United States, a landmark in organized law, was not only written by lawyers but its purpose and meaning were explained by lawyers. Never before in history had such a pamphlet been issued to the world as the Federalist. Never before has such a legal classic been written at the founding of a government. The very reason it was written was that lawyers recognized their obligation in this crisis to teach and lead the people. Hamilton, Madison, and John Jay in eloquence as simple as it was profound, explained the various proposals of the Constitution and their significance in the building of that Union so essential to the maintenance of peace and freedom. In these distinguished essays they won the support, not only of Washington and Jefferson but of the man in the street. It is not too much to say that, if the Federalist had not been written, if Hamilton had not explained the Constitution to New York, and if Madison had not performed a similar service in Virginia, the Constitution would not have been adopted.

Exactly the same public service is demanded of lawyers and of laymen today. Unless we inspire the coming race with a conception of the ethical basis of law, the precious freedom built up through the centuries will inevitably be destroyed. The ethical basis of law implemented in the free countries is the real defense against communism. And to the protection of this ethical system of law every member of the bar, and every true American, is called. This is today at once our challenge and our mighty opportunity.

The Great White Fleet—A Step Forward Toward World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 28, 1960

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the recent tragic disasters in Chile and other manifestations of nature's wrath around the world have served to focus attention once more on the proposal to establish a Great White Fleet. A vehicle for the creation of this great humanitarian armada is Senate Concurrent Resolution 66, which I am proud to be one of the cosponsors.

In my view, this mercy fleet could carry to the corners of the world a message of America as it really is today—dedicated to helping people everywhere to build healthier, happier lives. It is my hope that the recent tragedies in Chile and elsewhere, regrettable as they are, will help speed progress on this proposal which can mean so much in the cause of world peace and understanding.

The man who first suggested the Great White Fleet, Comdr. Frank A. Manson, recently delivered an interesting address on this subject. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHITE FLEET

(By Comdr. Frank A. Manson, U.S. Navy, before the London International Chapter of the National Defense Transportation Association, London, England, May 17, 1960)

I am fully conscious of the honor it is to address this distinguished group of Anglo-American executives and their guests. It is with pleasure and humility that I discuss the White Fleet, a topic close to my conscience, and the one which you chose for me.

This being my first public statement on the White Fleet since Life published the original proposal last July, I feel particularly rewarded to exchange views with a group of transportation authorities. Economic transportation is one of the keys to the success of the White Fleet, the economic transportation of one nation's strength to another nation's weakness.

Undoubtedly many of you have not heard of the White Fleet until this moment. Therefore, I think I should begin by briefly describing what it is. Since this is an Anglo-American audience I should also say at the outset that the White Fleet idea was first presented to the people of the United States. Some people have asked why I did not take the original proposition to something like NATO, SEATO, or to the United Nations and call for the creation of a worldwide White Fleet. I did not have sufficient data from countries, other than my own, to conclude that this would be a feasible proposition. I had no inkling how such a thing would be received and furthermore, I felt it was prudent to see what my fellow citizens thought of it before I presented it elsewhere. Although I felt in my heart that American reaction would be favorable I had no way of knowing for sure. Nor did I know what the reaction would be in newly developing countries. So much currently is facing humanity. Essentially the White Fleet is a new instrument for harnessing America's strength potential into her mothball fleets to help make the benefit of civilization available to the newly developing countries.

In view of such programs as the Marshall plan and point 4, which to my mind symbolize the real care of U.S. thinking, I did not consider that the White Fleet represented a radical departure from past U.S. efforts.

A White Fleet of mercy ships is something tangible. It is something that people, regardless of their education or station in life, can see and comprehend. Its only motives are humanitarian and these motives are easy to understand. They are difficult to distort, and this, I feel, will be of increasing importance as we move into the sixties.

The exact composition of the White Fleet will vary depending on the mission. Its overall capability will include ships designed to render assistance in such fields as elementary education, agriculture, nutrition, medicine, various types of engineering specialties, electrical power and research and these are by

STAT

no means all. The ships will be combat loaded to fight the many human problems which beset newly developing countries. The long-range missions is to help people who want to help themselves and become self-supporting.

The real purpose of the White Fleet is to render technical assistance in areas of continuing need. Additionally the White Fleet should prove helpful in times of disaster and crisis such as those brought about by floods, earthquakes, and storms. While dramatic, I do not envision that the disaster capability of the White Fleet will provide its most important function. In the first place, the U.S. Navy, which is now deployed worldwide, has demonstrated time and again that it can render emergency assistance within a matter of hours to virtually any spot in the world. This type of emergency service is already in being and would hardly provide the best utilization of the White Fleet. In some instances, such as Agadir, the Navy might call for the assistance of the White Fleet after it has handled the most urgent part of the situation.

Many people have asked me whether a White Fleet would have been useful at Agadir in view of the tremendous emergency support rendered by the military and civilian personnel of many Western countries. I went to Agadir in connection with my official Navy duties and frankly I don't see how the rescue operations during those first few hours or first few days could have been greatly improved. The French Navy, with a base at Agadir, began rescue operations within a matter of hours as did the U.S. Navy and U.S. Air Force. Soon the military and civilian forces of other nations were sending various types of assistance. We sent out a call for clothing and food from our Naval headquarters in London and the response was so overwhelming and the tonnage so great that a ship had to be sent from Norfolk to make the final delivery.

But the military forces could only stay in Agadir during the most agonizing part of the emergency. They all had their jobs to do and they had to return to their assigned military duties. A French doctor at Agadir who knew of the concept said the White Fleet would have proved most useful after the military forces had completed the dramatic rescue operations.

The situation today in Agadir appears most appropriate for a White Fleet operation. The city is in shambles, about 90 percent destroyed; it is without electric power or a water system. Most of the survivors are living in tents—24 canvas cots to a tent. Many of the people still walk half dazed about the countryside. There are no schools. The medical clinics and maternity wards are nothing more than canvas cots on the bare earth. The people are in need of a continuing supply of the basic necessities until they can get themselves organized once again. The city of Agadir is in need of technical assistance—and this will be so for some time to come. In fact there is virtually no White Fleet capability envisaged which could not be utilized in Agadir because virtually everything was lost. But Agadir is only one part of Morocco where the White Fleet could serve a worthwhile purpose.

I use Agadir as an example because public attention has been recently directed there. There are literally hundreds of situations in Africa, Asia, and South America that lend themselves to a White Fleet solution.

Now a few words about the future of the White Fleet. The idea continues to grow in the United States and throughout the Western World. Only recently I received a letter from a friend in Africa enclosing a clipping of a ship recently acquired by the Indonesian Government to fight against yaws and

treat all the cases which it finds. This is very heartening to know that such a ship is now in existence. A few weeks ago a poultry processing group in the United Kingdom contacted me regarding the feasibility of installing some sort of a poultry processing unit in the White Fleet. They said they thought it would be possible and effective. Then only a few days ago I received a letter from a manufacturer here in London and I quote from his letter. "I have reread the Life article on the White Fleet and am more than ever assured of the importance of this concept of aid to stricken areas. I can say on behalf of my company that we pledge what support we can give to you and the American organizers of this effort. * * * While the material support we can give will necessarily be small compared to the vastness of the enterprise—it could be important. Our Dexion material is a fundamental basis for building almost anything." I had never heard of Dexion material until I received this letter. I have subsequently investigated the material and discovered they can build anything from a school desk to a medical clinic. Actually it is what I call a man-sized erector set and it is such a marvelous idea that I am surprised it was not thought of years ago. In any event, I am delighted with this generous offer and am forwarding it to the White Fleet sponsors in the United States.

The first ship to sail from the United States will be the SS *Hope*, as the sponsors of the White Fleet and those responsible for Project Hope have joined forces. I am confident that this ship, whose first call is Indonesia, will emphasize the urgency of the White Fleet. I personally hope that the next White Fleet ship will be an LST, a landing ship tank. It is inexpensive to activate and operate and can gain access to most any coastal area. It can be multipurpose, carrying an assortment of capabilities and be most useful in numerous situations. Other types of amphibious ships and merchant hulls should be considered for the White Fleet. Some people have suggested that the nuclear-powered merchant ship *Savannah* would make an excellent White Fleet flagship. I do not know of the plans for *Savannah* but feel that this suggestion is worth consideration.

A few people have thought that I advocated Defense Department sponsorship of the White Fleet and budgetary support from the U.S. Navy. I have never entertained this thought nor would I recommend it. In fact I feel that such a policy might prove self-defeating. To organize and operate a White Fleet at the expense of military and naval preparedness would be foolhardy. Our defense funds are needed to meet the very real military challenge confronting the Western World. Financial support should come from civilian sources.

As to the long-range implications of the White Fleet, I am reminded of the recent talk with one of England's most gracious and talented people. As we walked about his estate looking at the beautiful gardens and trees he said that the White Fleet had brought to mind three people he knew who had planted gardens. One man had planted his garden studiously, with the careful planning of an industrious banker. He walked the grounds many times before he spotted the first plant. When he had finished his planting his garden was beautiful, it was professional, but it had required a rather long period to complete the project. The second man had planted his garden with a reckless abandon of a Johnny Appleseed. While there was no particular design or discernible pattern to his work he had utterly blanketed his estate in beautiful flowers. The third man that he knew lived near the Scottish border. He had planted no flowers at all. Instead he had torn down the old buildings and replaced

them with beautiful stone structures. My friend told this man that these structures should last for a generation and the man replied, "I intend for them to last for at least three generations." "But where are your flowers?" my friend asked. The man replied that he had no flowers and he pointed to a group of small trees and stated "I planted trees instead. There is something about trees which reflect a man's faith in future generations. There is something about trees that is indestructible."

Gentlemen, I would like to close with the suggestion that what my friend said about trees also applies to the White Fleet. There is something about this plan that suggests faith in future generations and the indestructibility of ships. I have said many times that I have no illusions that the White Fleet will bring peace in one sweeping movement. Peace can only come a bit at a time, but one step forward is worthwhile and I am confident that the White Fleet is a step forward.

Africa on the Move

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDMUND S. MUSKIE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 28, 1960

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, on March 28, 29, and 30, Mrs. May Craig published three columns which were printed in various Maine newspapers.

In the first, Mrs. Craig tells of Ethiopia's rich products and customs.

In the second, she recounts an unprecedented conference with his Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia.

In the third, she describes the Republic of Sudan as a "benevolent dictatorship."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have these three articles printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AFRICA ON THE MOVE—COFFEE WAS ONE OF ETHIOPIA'S FAMOUS SPICES

(By May Craig)

ADDIS ABABA.—If you drink the best mixtures of U.S. coffee, you get Ethiopian coffee blended into it because this is the home of coffee, originating in the province of Kaffa, and was one of the famous "spices" for which ancient Ethiopia was famous. The country is rich in rivers, forests, minerals. There is power in the Blue Nile as it drops 5,500 feet through gorges sometimes 4,000 feet deep before it gets to the plain of Sudan where it meets the White Nile at Khartoum. She has fertile soil, abundant seasonal rainfall, year-round growing season. It is no wonder Mussolini tried to take Ethiopia to feed the Italians as he set up collective farms in the green hills that rim the Northern Mediterranean opposite Italy. Since history began, there have been struggles for land, food, cattle—now for minerals and oil.

The language here resembles Hebrew, Arabic, and other semitic languages, since the origin of the people is Hamitic and Semitic. The language is called Amharic, and English is the second language. When we asked our Ambassador, Don C. Bliss (Vermont, Dartmouth), whether any of his staff spoke the language, he said his wife did,